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Widespread use of Umbundu

While the home of the Ovimbundu is in the Benguela Highland, the use of their language is now more widespread. The va Nganda and the va Hanya are increasingly using Umbundu. The mixed populations at the coast towns of Lobito, Catumbela, and Benguela use it almost exclusively. It is also used in Novo Redondo, in Mossamedes, and along the Benguela Railway to the interior. There is a considerable *diaspora* of Ovimbundu at widely separated points owing to very recent movements.

For more extensive treatment of the various aspects of the problems touched upon in this introductory chapter, works listed in the bibliography may be consulted. A complete description of the habitat has not been attempted but only sufficient to provide the necessary background for the study as a whole.

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000 The least that can happen will be a centrifugal throwing off of groups of *diaspora*—a process actually taking place from among the Ovimbundu. These uprooted groups, *déracinés*, *ovimbali*,[1] whether they settle in the towns or move to other territories, are far less promising material from every standpoint than they were when in their former cultural and social state. In view of the many and important adaptations which the Ovimbundu have made in the past, their ability to adapt themselves to yet greater innovations may be confidently affirmed, if only the movement is not 'excessively speeded up'. Plainly, it is the duty of everyone who is interested in the social welfare of this great people to do what may be in his power to arrest the process of disintegration, and to strengthen existing social bonds lest the latter state be worse than the former.

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be neglected at the expense of the other. May not the union of these two functions of education in a single system, and the leadership of both in the person of the village teacher, help to preserve the unity of Umbundu life?

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175 171 [412] O. Dapper (Description de l'Afrique, 1732, p. 369) shows a scene in which an ax, such as I obtained from the Vasele country, is being used for beheading a slave.

[325] [534] Cavazzi (Istorica descrizione, etc., Bologna, 1687) describes the three kingdoms of Congo, Matamba, and northern Angola. The poison ordeal, the scapegoat, the blacksmith's bellows (pp. 101, 170) are all traits known to the Ovimbundu. The musical instrument made from a large gourd, which has a ridged board attached for rubbing with a stick, is the type I collected. Cavazzi pictures the double iron gong and the long drum held between the knees. He [782] also shows a rain-maker (p. 214) and the sacrifice of two hundred victims at the accession of a king (p. 210).

174 243 Consideration of the history of maize in Africa is of importance in connection with these early writings, as this grain is the staple agricultural product of the Ovimbundu. I am indebted to Dr. [113] Berthold Laufer for access to his unpublished research on this subject. From the following facts one may assume that, in all probability, the maize culture of the Ovimbundu was derived from the Congo region before their migration into the Benguela Highlands.

175 243 Father Jerome Merolla remarks that maize was growing in the neighborhood of San Salvador (1683–92). The native names were *mampunni* and *massambuta;* from this corn an alcoholic beverage was prepared. According to Cavazzi (Ehrmann, Geschichte der merkwürdigsten Reisen, XIII, 1794) maize was not intensively cultivated by the Negroes of lower Guinea, though it thrives well and may be harvested twice or thrice a year. The natives said that the grain [177] was brought by the Portuguese, but they did not esteem it highly, and were accustomed to use it as food for pigs.

Bosman (p. 312) records that prior to the arrival of the Portuguese, Negroes were entirely ignorant of *milho* ("maize"). The account of Duarte Lopez preserved by Filippo Pigafetta states that the Negroes consider maize the vilest of all grains, so that it is given to swine. This contempt and lack of knowledge of the food value, combined with ignorance of methods of preparation, suggest a recent introduction (Pigafetta, translation by M. Hutchinson, 1881, p. 40). Dapper (Description de l'Afrique, 1732, p. 345) also mentions the cultivation of maize. Battell lived as prisoner in northern Angola about the year 1600, consequently his records of the use of the great Guinea wheat (maize), which the natives call *maa-importo*, give early evidence for the use of this grain (Hakluyt Soc., 1901, pp. 9, 11, 67).

322 The tools used by the wood-carver are the saw, ax, adze, and knife.
532 The products of this craft may be conveniently divided into the following groups:

(1) Figurines of human form (Plate XXI, Figs. 1–6).

(2) Animal forms, chiefly snakes, tortoises, birds, and lizards. The dog is sometimes represented (Plates XIX, Figs. 1–5; XLI, Fig. 1).

[534] (3) Parts of musical instruments, such as drums and the base-boards of *sansas*. The latter often have the metal keys mounted on boards decorated with elaborately incised patterns (Plates XLI, Fig. 2; XXII, Fig. 5).

[415] (4) Domestic implements and utensils, chief of which are heavy wooden beaters for flattening mud floors of houses, grain pounders, stools, cups, platters, bowls, and a heavy pestle and mortar (Plates XIII, Fig. 3; XVIII, Figs. 1, 2).

[581] (5) Carved sticks and clubs; these often show elaborate incised decorations of geometrical patterns. Frequently the head of the stick is carved to represent a human head or a full-length figure.
[243] The ornamented stick or club is carried as part of the personal dress and artistic equipment. The throwing club is usually a straight stick with an undecorated knob at the end (Plate XX, Figs. 1–10).

(6) Carved wooden posts representing the human form. These are set up at the wayside. One has been obtained from a grave near Bailundu.

(7) Tobacco-pipes and snuff boxes (Plate XV, Figs. 2, 4).

177 Figurines of human form require special consideration, because
532 they have claims other than that of aesthetic expression. The figures representing Europeans, or natives using some article of foreign introduction, illustrate the grafting of foreign ideas on older methods of work.

113 The art of the African Negro has of late years been accorded a place of honor in critical circles of Europe and America (P. Guillaume and T. Munro, Primitive Negro Sculpture, New York, 1926). Usually, however, the formal technique of lines, curves, and the general aesthetic effect have been discussed to the exclusion of the ethnological background which determines style and function.

532 By far the best example of carved human figures collected in Angola was the one from Cangamba (Plate XXI, Fig. 4). This female figure, 60 cm high, is carved from hard, dark, red wood in such a way as to achieve a graceful result by the employment of a few

361 At the present time one type of village is surrounded by stout stakes ten or more feet high set in a roughly circular plan. The arrangement of alleyways within the village is complicated without following any symmetrical plan. A visitor sees only a labyrinth of passages between high poles, with here and there a rectangular wooden 417 gate at intervals along the passages. The door itself is made from 335 four stout heavy planks which are roughly hewn and as a rule undecorated, but occasionally I have seen the panels of a door carved with [531] designs representing the breasts of a woman; or there may have been simple geometrical patterns. The top ends of the door panels are massive spheres of wood bored through with holes. Through the holes in the tops of these panels a pintle is passed in such a way that the door is suspended from above. During the daytime the lower ends of the panels are raised to the level of the lintel. They are there supported on a Y-shaped upright which is erected in front of the doorway. At night the planks are removed from this support and allowed to hang downward in the doorway. There is a sliding crosspiece to push over the lower ends. The same arrangement is sometimes used to make a door for a hut. This old type of village doorway, common twenty years ago, is becoming increasingly rare.

342 The house of a king or a chief is larger than that of a commoner. 644 The enclosure which contains a king's house and the other buildings 621 is named *elombe*, while *epandavalo* is the word used to describe the entrance to this compound. The *elombe* is built by men and women who receive no payment. There is a ceremony when the compound is opened. The house of the chief, Kandimba Sanjahulu, near Bailundu, is rectangular, with mud walls raised on a platform of earth and stones. Whitewash has been applied to the outside of the walls and some ornament is given in the form of painted blue crosses. [113] Complete study of structural types and the planning of internal divisions has been made by F. and W. Jaspert, of the Städtisches Völkermuseum, Frankfort.

644 At a village near Cuma the house of the chief differed from the dwellings of commoners in being somewhat larger. The house had been abandoned, not because the chief died there, but because the chieftainship had been transferred to an adjacent village. The tomb, which will be described in connection with funeral rites, was a few yards from the house. This mausoleum was surrounded by a high wooden palisade, to a stake of which were attached the horns of an ox killed at the funeral feast, while the jawbone lay in the enclosure

576 *konyimo oko* are spoken. The literal interpretation of these words is "back there." Ngonga says the words actually mean "excuse my back."

827 576 Spitting in the vicinity of the house of the king or of the chief is not allowed. "If you did that in the old days, you would have to pay something." Some people spit near the hearth in their own houses. A man who spits in the road is expected to cover the spittle. No person would spit in the presence of the chief or of the king. A hand should be placed in front of the mouth by a person who is coughing or sneezing.

576 [851] Shortly after the birth of a boy or girl all who are on good terms with the parents greet them by saying *kalunga*. The word is repeated four times with clapping of the palms. When words have been imperfectly heard and the listener desires repetition it is customary to say *kuku* in an interrogative tone.

[264] No particular etiquette is observed when eating. Two or three children eat from one platter, helping themselves with their fingers to the mush or sweet potatoes.

Rules forbidding the preparation of food by menstruating women, likewise prohibitions relating to stepping over a person, are mentioned in discussing taboos and omens.

EDUCATIONAL VALUE OF PLAY, MUSIC, AND DANCING

524 182 533 The educational value of play lies in its imitation of the pursuits of adult life. Though there are specialists in music, dancing, and singing, these exercises are indulged in by everyone. Music, singing, and dancing are more than amusements, they are fundamental as coordinating forces in tribal life at all levels of culture (W. D. Hambly, Tribal Dancing and Social Development, London, 1926). [113]

Among the Ovimbundu *Cimbamba Co Lia* is a popular game for girls, who form a circle, join hands, and sing:

PART I

524 [535] *Omola una, ndo sile vekango, Cimbamba co lia* ("That little child was left in the desert, the nighthawk ate it"). At the word *Cimbamba* they begin to dance, facing from side to side in such a manner that they meet and bow. Some sing, *Cimbamba co lia* ("The nighthawk ate him"), and others respond, *Kalikisi* ("'tis the goblins"), as many times as they wish. Finally a return is made to the first words which are sung again. All musical transcriptions have been made by Dr. G. Herzog from my phonographic records.

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The compound in which the initiates had been confined for three months was a circular enclosure made of light branches and leafy boughs, at the narrow embrasure of which stood a guardian of the boys, who permitted entrance. In the middle of the large enclosure were seven small cages, each of which was just large enough to allow one boy to lie on his back, and I was informed that the boys lie thus for two weeks after circumcision (Plate LXXX, Fig. 2).

The ages of the boys appeared to be from ten to seventeen years (Plate LXXX, Fig. 1), an observation which agrees well with that made at Katoko and Ngongo. The disparity of age among the novices at each center where initiation was observed bears out the statement that initiation ceremonies are held at irregular intervals, but not more frequently than once in four years.

During confinement in the large enclosure the novices had made masks and costumes (Plate LXXIX, Fig. 1), and when they were pulling on the coarse netting suits, which fit tightly, I observed that circumcision had been performed thoroughly, evidently some weeks ago, for the wounds were healed. Masks were obtained, and these the instructors of the boys were careful to wrap in bark cloth, at the same time requesting me not to show the objects to women.

A few days later these boys returned to their village to dance while wearing the costumes which had been made in the enclosure. At Cangamba the final ceremony lasted twelve hours amid great excitement, including ceaseless drumming and dancing. One boy, who wore a skirt on his fiber costume, lifted this to display an artificial penis of great size (Plate LXXIX, Fig. 2). This organ he grasped in his hand while chasing the women and girls, who ran away screaming and laughing.

At this ceremony there appeared stilt-walkers (Plate LXXXI, Fig. 1) and a medicine-man, a member of the Luchazi tribe (Plate LXXXI, Fig. 2).

Circumcision among the Bdjok (Vachokue) has been witnessed by C. P. Holdredge and described by Kimball Young (*Amer. Anthr.*, XXIX, pp. 661–669). This ceremony took place in the far northeast of Angola. The man described as the *magish* of whom women are afraid, but who is known to the initiates, corresponds to the Uluchazi medicine-man seen in the final ceremony at Cangamba. Of this grotesquely dressed person the men and boys took no notice, neither did he pay attention to them. On the contrary he chased women who ran away screaming. Kimball Young's description of the enclosure where boys are confined, and his account of the

VIII. LANGUAGE

Affinities of Umbundu

197 The Umbundu language is widely understood in Angola owing to the journeys of the Ovimbundu as raiders and traders in large caravans. Umbundu is as important for communication in Angola as Hausa is for Nigeria, or Swahili for the east coast of Africa.

Notwithstanding this use of Umbundu as a lingua franca it is necessary to note that tribes surrounding the Ovimbundu have their own distinctive Bantu languages; moreover, the Umbundu language itself has several dialects.

For example, the Vasele tribe living in rugged country in the hinterland of Novo Redondo have a dialect of Umbundu (Usele) so distinctive that a competent Ocimbundu interpreter has difficulty in making himself understood, or interpreting what is said. Isolation of the Vasele from the Ovimbundu has led to the formation of a cultural pocket in which linguistic developments have shared in [184] a specialization of culture. The differences between the Umbundu of Elende and that of the Ambundu tribes may be noted by comparing this brief outline of Umbundu, recorded at Elende, with the records of Amandus Johnson, whose research relates to the language spoken in the hinterland of Loanda. The present chapter will deal only with notes on vocabulary, phonetics, an outline of grammar, sign language, folklore and proverbs, all of which are briefly treated. In the field phonographic records of the Umbundu language were taken, and for the analysis of tonal values and other aspects of phonetics I am indebted to Dr. M. H. Watkins, a student of Professor E. Sapir, formerly of the University of Chicago, now at Yale.

The section on Umbundu grammar conclusively shows Umbundu to be a representative language of the Bantu family of languages. Umbundu possesses all the fundamental characteristics of Bantu [213] speech. The truth of this may be seen by comparing this outline of Umbundu with the analysis of Bantu languages given by A. Werner (Language Families of Africa, London, 1925). Moreover, Carl Meinhof (Grundzüge einer vergleichenden Grammatik der Bantu Sprachen, Berlin, 1906, pp. 112-115, and translation by A. Werner and N. J. von Warmelo, London, 1932) indicates the degree of relationship of Umbundu to other Bantu tongues by giving comparisons of the stems of personal and possessive pronouns, along with other comparative data.

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Ongonjo. Large round gourd.
Ongonon. Net in which gourd is carried.
Ohingi. Bow.
Uyanga. Arrow.
Ohandoi (plural *ohandoi*). Bark rope.
Ombolombolo. Musical bow.
Ohoma. Drum.
Okalipa. Throwing stick.
Okanyingo. Drill for boring wood.
Ongombo. Basket used in divination.
Ekanga. Water jar.
Ongonga. Jar for palm oil.
Ombalanga. Skin-covered box carried to war by a king.
Ongonda (diminutive, *okandinda*). Flour-sifter.
Ongui. Tobacco-pipe.
Kalongonjombanga. Bull-roarer.
Okanonga (singular, *okanonga*). Rattles for tying on the legs when dancing.
Okandonda. Wooden flute.
Ongonda or ombjamanda. Wooden hair-comb.
Ombjila. Long needle used in making mats.
Ongonda. Wooden pigeon and dove.
Ombo. Head-dress worn by kings, warriors, medicine-men and hunters. Small brush used by medicine-man.
Ombkamakanga. Wooden image of human figure.
Ohipondo. Rat trap *or* cage.
Ombolongo. Snuff box.

The names for colors are restricted to a few words; but in all other respects the Umbundu vocabulary is extensive.

My interpreter said, "When I was learning colors, the women [151] at the school told me many names, but I could see no difference at all." Ngonga contended that there was no difference between the color of a dark blue book and the black box on which it was resting.

The following colors have names. Black is *tekiwa.* White is *pela.* Yellow is *ondunga.* Red is *kunuki.* Greens and blues are not well distinguished linguistically, but green is *ombkambolo.* The word *tekiwisa* is used to indicate that a color is not distinctly green or blue. The word *pekisa* is used to describe gray, and all dark reds. *Wumbulu* is the term which describes a greenish-blue shade.

194 113 A further study of vocabulary was made by asking Ngonga to speak into the dictaphone. In doing so he gave lists of words including nouns in their singular and plural forms, together with many examples of other parts of speech and illustrations of syntax. These records have been transcribed by Dr. M. H. Watkins. (This section was prepared with use of phonetic symbols that were easily available. For the most recent system, see "Practical Phonetics for Students of African Languages," by D. Westermann and I. C. Ward, London, 1933.)

PHONETICS

VOWELS

194

The vowels are *a, e, i, o, u,* and perhaps *ɔ.* They seem to be somewhat lower than the cardinal vowels. There was only one word in which the vowel *ɔ* was heard, *ɔpatalɔlɔ̃ã* (leather pouch for a belt). This word, however, appears in the field notes as *opatalonja* (*opata-*

3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FF13 Mbundu FF13

concordial agreement as stated above, divide the nouns into several classes or class genders. We need not enter upon a general discussion of concord, which in the Bantu languages is a method of expressing grammatical relations that are of fundamental importance. Concord need not always appear in the form of perfect alliteration, although it frequently does so, for the essential fact is that all nouns of the same class are recognizable as such, and other elements of speech when brought into syntactic agreement with these nouns must carry similar distinctions. 193

Students of Bantu have suggested that the various noun classes probably represent a proto-Bantu classification which formerly betokened a grouping based on common characteristics (A. Werner, Some Bantu Linguistic Problems, *Jour. Afr. Soc.*, XXVIII, 1928-29, pp. 155-165). The nouns listed here under Class 1 may accordingly be recognized as belonging to the so-called personal class, and the prefixes of Class 8 indicate a diminutive class. [113]

CLASS 1

SINGULAR PREFIX: *omu-*, *omo-*	RELATIVE: *u-*
PLURAL PREFIX: *oma-*	RELATIVE: *wa-*
òmúnú, person	*òmɸlɸ*, child
òmánú, people	*òmɸlɸ*, children

Illustrations of concordial agreement with these nouns:

òmúnú útíto, small person	*òmɸlɸ útíto*, small child
òmánú vàtíto, small people	*òmɸlɸ vàtíto*, small children

CLASS 1A

SINGULAR PREFIX: *u-*	RELATIVE: *u-*
PLURAL PREFIX: *a-*, *ova-*	RELATIVE: *wa-*
ulume, man	*ufeko*, girl
alume, men	*afeko*, girls
òválume, men	*òváfeko*, girls
ukqi, woman	*umalehe*, lad
akqi, women	*amalehe*, lads
òvákqi, women	

The following forms show the concordial agreement for Class 1A:

ulume útíto, small man	*akqi vàtíto*, small women
alume vàtíto, small men	*òvákqi vàtíto*, small women
òválume vàtíto, small men	*afeko vene* (*va-ene*), your (pl.) girls
ukqi útíto, small woman	*amalehe vávò*, their lads

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539 mother leopard returned, the jerboa brought out the only cub four times. On the fourth day the jerboa ate the last of the cubs.

When the mother leopard came home the jerboa was terrified, so said, "The cubs are not very well, you must go in the room to feed them; I cannot bring them out." When the leopard had gone into the sleeping room the jerboa ran quickly into his hole in the ground.

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538 These tales from my records were all told to me by Ngonga. It is true that some of the stories appear in the Umbundu reader [113] "Olosapo Vioku Likisa Oku Tanga" (Kamundongo, 1914). But when this book was printed Ngonga was already well acquainted with all the stories therein, and many more. Most of the tales were, and are today, an integral part of the Umbundu language.

My own inquiries had the same result as those of Chatelain in revealing a preponderance of stories of animals. Yet W. C. Bell [113] was able to collect several tales relating entirely to the adventures of human beings (*Jour. Amer. Folk-Lore*, XXXV, pp. 116–150). At times there is a didactic theme running through a tale, which emphasizes the value of courage, presence of mind, and perseverance. A sense of humor is shown in the conversations of animals and the tricks which the smaller creatures use to the discomfort of the larger animals.

538 171 Comparative study of stories told by the Ovimbundu with those from other parts of Africa opens up a field of research, especially in view of the long caravan journeys of the Ovimbundu. Chatelain narrates the Angolan story of the frog who boasted that he could [113] ride the elephant, and contrived to do so by a clever ruse (*Jour. Amer. Folk-Lore*, VII, p. 62). The Nigerian story of the tortoise who fulfilled the same boast is told by A. B. Ellis (Yoruba-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast, London, 1894, p. 265).

The Ovimbundu have the story of the tortoise who made a wager with the antelope respecting a race which they agreed to run. The tortoise won the wager by placing one of his brothers at the winning post. The Umbundu version is given in "Olosapo" (p. 53), and there is a Cameroon version.

The tug-of-war story which tells of a trick played against the hippopotamus and the elephant is known to the Ovimbundu. The story has a wide distribution with local variations. Sometimes the elephant and the hippopotamus are unwittingly made to pull

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against one another by some small clever animal such as the monkey or the hare. In the version given by H. S. Stannus (Harvard African Studies, vol. III, p. 329) the hare perpetrates this ruse. The version given by Smith and Dale (The Ila-speaking Peoples of Rhodesia, vol. II, p. 377) makes the contestants a hippopotamus and a rhinoceros, but the hare again arranges the tug-of-war. E. Dayrell (Folklore Stories from Southern Nigeria, London, 1910, p. 104) gives another variant of the tug-of-war story, which states that one end of the rope was made fast to a palm tree. The hippopotamus was under water so he could not see the object against which he was pulling. He thought he was tugging against the tortoise as arranged.

Umbundu stories are humorous and didactic, while some indicate a process of rationalizing. An example of the latter kind is found in the story explaining why the bat flies at night. Dayrell (pp. 36, 51) gives two different versions of this rationalizing tale.

These folklore stories of the Ovimbundu give information respecting vocabulary, structure of the language, powers of observation, customs, and ideas of conduct.

I have found no stories which illustrate the grafting of elements from two different cultures. In some parts of Africa tales may be heard which contain blended elements from a Negro and a Semitic culture, as in Nigeria. But assimilation of features which were foreign to the story at its cultural origin does not occur in the tales given here, with the exception of the European story of the greedy dog, which is an importation.

The Ovimbundu were noted for their long caravan journeys, which were undertaken in territory occupied by tribes of the same linguistic family (Bantu), a fact which may account for the similarity of Umbundu and other Bantu versions of the same tales.

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